



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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October 29, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary

FROM: PM - Reginald Bartholomew *RB*SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Secretary Brown and
Dr. Brzezinski, October 30, 1980

There follows an annotated agenda for your meeting with Harold and Zbig:

1. US Policy Toward Argentina: Harold, possibly supported by Zbig, will challenge the policy approach you outlined to the President on Argentina. Harold will indicate his strong opposition to our proposed postponement of military related initiatives until next year. You should point out that our recommendations are inevitable given the Argentine involvement in the Bolivian coup and we have suggested postponement only, not cancellation. In addition, you should explain that we are taking advantage of opportunities such as the recent visit to Washington of the Argentine Chief of Staff to continue our dialogue with the Argentines. You might also indicate that you will have the opportunity for further dialogue during President-Select Viola's private visit to Washington in December. Suggested talking points, your October 18 memo to the President and Graham Clayton's dissent are at Tab 1.

2. Policy Toward El Salvador: Harold wants to discuss his memo to Zbig on whether we are providing the right kind of security assistance to El Salvador. His proposals pose major policy issues which will eventually have to go to the President; consequently, we recommend that you offer to chair a PRC on El Salvador in which these issues can be addressed. Harold's memo and background are at Tab 2.

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*on Latin America
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by SCC*

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MBB ITEM

U.S. Policy Toward Argentina

Claytor has objected to your memorandum to the President (Tab A) informing him of the postponement until next year of some of the initiatives contemplated for 1980 to improve U.S.-Argentine relations. The basis for postponement of the more highly visible initiatives was the GOA's support of the Bolivian coup and refusal thus far to continue cooperation on grains. In a separate memorandum to the President (Tab B), Claytor argues that the military related initiatives should not have been postponed since military-to-military contacts stand the best chance of moving the GOA closer to our views. We stand by our decision that it would be inappropriate to engage at this time in highly visible military exchanges with Argentina in the aftermath of the Argentine intervention in Bolivia.

You should tell Brown that:

-- The initiatives were postponed, not cancelled. We expect most or all to be rescheduled next year as opportunities present themselves. We support holding an Inter-Agency meeting, perhaps in January, to consider the full range of Argentine initiatives and the most appropriate timing for proceeding.

-- The decision on the military initiatives relates to the Argentine actions in Bolivia, which it continues to support financially and militarily, not on grains. However, there is some indication that because of the strong USG reaction and the effect on our bilateral relations, Argentine leaders may be willing to counsel moderation on the Bolivians. This is particularly true on narcotics, but may extend to other areas.

-- High level visits and consultations at this time would give the Argentines the impression of "business as usual" and would diminish rather than enhance the incentive for changing its position on Bolivia. Instead, we have addressed Bolivia, grains, and human rights in multilateral fora such as the UN where you recently discussed these issues with Foreign Minister Pastor.

-- We have also taken advantage of opportunities presented by private visits such as the recent visit to Washington by Argentine Air Force Chief of Staff Temporini. Furthermore, we plan to address these issues, as well as Hemispheric global security issues during Argentine President-select Viola's private visit to Washington in December.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
From: Edmund S. Muskie *ESM*
Subject: U.S. Policy Toward Argentina

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On May 29 the Inter-Agency Group for Latin America developed a strategy, subsequently approved by you, to improve our relations with Argentina during 1980.

However, following the IG meeting two events occurred which have caused us to reassess the timing of our initiatives:

-- The Bolivian military, with Argentine sympathy and support, staged a coup in Bolivia. Assistant Secretary Bowdler's visit to Buenos Aires was postponed as a result.

-- Argentina thus far has not agreed to continue cooperation beyond October on grains export restrictions to the Soviet Union.

I emphasized both of these issues, in addition to our human rights concerns, in my recent meeting with Argentine Foreign Minister Pastor at the UN General Assembly. Under Secretary Cooper in a subsequent discussion with the Argentine Minister of Economy received the impression that continued cooperation on grains is possible but much depends on the size of the 1980/81 harvests. We plan to continue our efforts through further discussions in Buenos Aires, Washington, and at international meetings.

Argentine decision-making is influenced by the nearness of our presidential election and by their own presidential transition. General Viola will replace President Videla March 29, 1981.

Under these circumstances, we believe that, while it is important to proceed with as many of the proposed 1980 initiatives as possible, it would be inappropriate to proceed this year with some of the steps earlier contemplated. However, we should maintain private dialogue and avoid public confrontation that would make this dialogue difficult. The steps we intend to proceed with this year and those we plan to defer until next year are as follows:

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I. Continuing or Early Action Initiatives:

-- We will pursue our significant commercial and economic interests in preparation for the meeting of the U.S.-Argentine Mixed Economic Commission to be held in Buenos Aires, probably in March or April (the earliest mutually convenient timeframe). The meeting will include discussion of bilateral trade issues and seek to expand commercial relations. We also would use this occasion to continue dialogue over the issues that may be current at that time.

-- We will move forward on negotiations to arrive at an agreement on the assurances required for the Nuclear Non-proliferation Act. We continue to urge the Argentines to ratify the Treaty of Tlatelolco as they had earlier promised you.

-- We will seek to conclude the negotiations for a bilateral income tax treaty and a consular convention.

II. Initiatives Postponed Until Next Year:

-- The first round of periodic security consultations, focusing on security of the South Atlantic.

-- Periodic policy talks on global and hemispheric issues.

-- Signing the Agricultural Cooperation Agreement, unless we can obtain a renewal of the Argentine decision to limit grains to the Soviet Union.

-- An invitation to an Argentine guest instructor to the U.S. Army School of the Americas until consultations with the Congress are completed and we are satisfied as to the timing of the initiative.

-- A high-level U.S. military visit, although we should keep under review the desirability of an invitation to a senior Argentine military leader, such as the Argentine Army CINC or Chief of Staff.

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